

Child Labour Prevalence in Ghana

By

Malika Djalalova

THESIS

Submitted to

KDI School of Public Policy and Management

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

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2015

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Professor Ji-Hong KIM

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Dedication

Every work needs self effort, however that is not enough. Without the support and guidance of our beloved families, friends, and teachers, no challenge could be overcome. Therefore, I dedicated my work to my ***Father and Mother***, whose love, encouragement, and support helped me overcome all barriers and obstacles while completing my masters program and working on my thesis proposal, along with my brother & sister for their endless love, my fellow KDI friends, who have become like brothers and sisters, for helping me, and my Professors who were so willing to share their precious time to guide me through my work.

Abstract

This thesis attempts to contextualize the practice of child labour in Ghana by looking into various determinants, as well as examining how well the Ghanaian government was able to achieve the targeted goal to alleviate child labour and integrate children to primary school. It looks covers the legal frameworks that have been developed to give child rights and protect them from hazardous working conditions, or work overall. The study is done mostly with the help of the GLSS 6, and findings and analysis are based on the observation made from the survey results.

Key words: child labour, child rights, child work, education, F-CUBE, poverty.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

DFID:	Department for International Development of United Kingdom
FCUBE:	Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
GCLMS:	Ghana Child Labour Monitoring System
GDHS:	Ghana Demographic and Health Survey
HAF:	Hazardous Activity Framework for the Cocoa Setor of Ghana
ICI:	International Cocoa Initiative
ILO:	International Labour Organization
IPEC:	International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labour
UNICEF:	United Nation's Children's International Education Fund
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development

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Child Labour Prevalence in Ghana

Child labor and poverty are inevitably bound together and if you continue to use the labor of children as the treatment for the social disease of poverty, you will have both poverty and child labor to the end of time.

-Grace Abbott

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In the contemporary world with globalization and industrialization rapidly taking place, we face many challenges such as economic inequality, poverty, famine, malnutrition, and child labour. In a society with poor families, children are the most vulnerable because they become engaged in labour from a very young age in order to contribute to the household income where their participation is highly needed for survival. Child labour exists in many regions, the ILO estimated that 218 million children are found working in developing countries, with 122.3 million working in Asia- Pacific region, 49.3 million in Sub-Saharan Africa, and in Latin America and the Caribbean 5.7 million (Copperwiki, 2011). Sub- Saharan Africa has the second highest magnitude of children economically active after Asia.

The phenomenon of child labour is highly prevalent especially in the agriculture sector since it remains as a great source for employment for the poor (Tuttle, 2006). Ghana, having an agrarian economy is a high employer of child laborers. The population of children 5-17 years old is 8,697,602, out of which 1,892,553 (21.8%) are engaged in child labour, and 1,232,286 (14.2%) being engaged in hazardous form of labour (GLSS 6). Patrinos and Psacharopoulos (1995) argue that child labour prevents school participation and also exposes them to health hazards. The issue of child labour can not

alone be eliminated with the ratification and implementation of international laws, all the determinants of child labour should be taken under consideration and combated, including poverty, which will then simultaneously lead to the alleviation of such occurrence.

Many policies, regulations, and laws have been ratified and put into force showing gradual reduction in the rate of child labour, however it has not been fully alleviated. Child labour prevents children from their childhood, interferes with their ability to get enrolled in school and receive proper education, also causes mental, physical, and moral harm to the development of the child.¹ It is from this understanding that this research paper will explore the prevalence of child labour in modern Ghana and focuses on exploring the Free Compulsory Universal Basic education Policy aimed at beating the menace of child labour.

1.2 Child Labour versus Child Work

A child's participation in the labour market is a controversial topic. There have been many debates on what constitutes "Child Labour" and "Child Work." One characteristic that differentiates "Child Labour" from "Child Work" is the nature of work and the impact it has on a child. Child labour is considered to be any type of hazardous work which has a negative implication of the child's psycho-social development and interferes with educational attainment opportunities. Meanwhile, child work refers to children working in a more friendly-environment, such as a family farm or family enterprises. However, such distinction would not fit well in the context of children living in the rural areas and being engaged in household work, which would fall under the distinction of child labour. Santha Sinha (2000, 152-3) argues that all work done by children

¹ Child Labour defined by the International Labour Organization Convention

constitutes as child labour and makes a strong emphasis that abolition of child participation in the labour market and universal primary education are one of the remedies of poverty alleviation and a step towards socio-economic development. Banning child labor in the long term would lead to a good equilibrium. Moreover, if child labor banning policies were enforced and monitored well, families and child laborers are better off, even though employers may be worse off because they have to pay higher wage. Where poverty is a main determinant of child labor, Edmonds and Turk (2002) highlight an increase of growth and family income would reduce child labor. Such findings were witnessed during the 1990s in Vietnam, where living standard improvements led to a decline in child labor.

Most child labourers are found to be engaged in hazardous works, especially countries with an agrarian economy. ILO Convention 182 classifies Worst Forms of Child Labour as such, which are unfortunately prevalent in the contemporary world:

- 1) All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict;
- 2) The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances;
- 3) The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties;
and
- 4) Work, which by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to

harm the health, safety or morals of children.²

1.3. Problem Area

The Ghanaian Development Plan for Child Labour alleviation has begun in the early 1990's, when the government implemented a new policy known as the "Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education" (1992) in the Ghanaian Constitution. However, even though two decades have passed, child labour still seems to remain as one of the social problems in the country, and due to high child labor rates and low school enrollment rates illiteracy has been another problem that is being tackled. The literacy rate of 15-24 year old male youth are rather high when compared to their counterparts, 88.3% to 83.2%. The Net Primary School Enrolment Rate of female, however seems to be a little higher, 84.8% to 83.9%. Educational attainment plays a crucial role in the countries development and also on the life expectancy of the local people since education and health are directly linked to each other. The Human Development Index Value for the year of 2013 was 0.573, compared to 2006 the HDI Value where the HDI ranking was 136/ 177, in 2013 it decreased going to 138/177.³

1.4 Objective of the Research

This research examines the extent to which the Ghanaian Government has been successful in the attempt to combat child labour through implementing educational policies. It focuses on how the FCUBE policy has brought about a change to the alleviation of child labour and in the school enrollment rate. Moreover, the factors that play a crucial roll in a child participation in the economic activities will be thoroughly discussed.

² International Labour Organization Convention classification of Worst Forms of Child Labour

³ HDI values and rank changes in the 2014 Human Development Report

This study will be founded on the following research question:

1)How successful was the F-CUBE Policy to integrate children to school and alleviate Child Labor?

The findings on this research will help Ghanaian policy makers reframe the policies implemented to combat child labour, specifically the education related policies. As well as improve the monitoring system of schooling.

1.5 Rationale for this Research

Child labour has been another big challenge many countries are trying to combat by implementing policies and laws, however it still prevalent in many parts of the world. Children start working from a very early age, sometimes three, when they should be enjoying the gift of childhood. But instead, they work very long hours, carry heavy things, verbally and physically get abused, sometimes causing them their lives. My interest in child labour developed when I came across young children working in poor conditions, and many times forced to work as beggars in the cold. My research focuses on Ghana after learning that even though government policies have been implemented to eradicate child labour, it is socially accepted, children are seen as household assets that are controlled by household decisions.

Child labour is highly prevalent in the African countries, mainly because it remains to be have an agrarian economy, where many children along with their parents work long hours in the field and contribute to the family income. Nevertheless, any form of work in a poor condition performed by a child is considered to violate the ILO Convention 182.⁴

⁴ International Labour Organization Convention 182 classifies the Worst Forms of Child Labour; which include human trafficking, prostitution, forced work, and any type of work that interferes with a child's full development.

1.6 Summary of Chapters

This research consists of seven chapters. Chapter 1 gives brief introduction to the child labour problem in Ghana, followed by a distinction between child labour and child work. Chapter 2 is literature review and illustrates the determinants of child labour. Chapter 3 gives an insight on the socio-economic status and also provides with the statistical data the child labour prevalence in Ghana. Chapter 4 focuses more in depth on the forms of child labour in Ghana, also give details about human trafficking. Chapter 5 explores the government policies, specifically the “Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education,” policy. Chapter 6 analyses the research findings, and Chapter 7 provides with recommendations that could be useful for policy improvement.

Chapter- 2:

Literature Review

&

Determinants of Child Labour

2.1 Introduction

In the contemporary world problems such as poverty, underdevelopment, child labour is a challenge to many countries. As Economist Kaushik Basu emphasizes child labour has been one of the oldest and most complex problems humans are confronted against. The economic causes of the child labour phenomenon are not everywhere the same, therefore this section reviews the various determinants of child labour.

2.2 Poverty's effect on child labour

Child labour has a strong correlation with poverty. The proportion of child labourers active between the Urban (7.7%) and the Rural area (20.0%)⁵ show a remarkable difference (GLSS 6). Rural Savannah, out of all the African country having the high absolute poverty rate, in particular had the highest proportion of children engaged in physical labour.

Poverty is by far the main key element that arouse the child labor issue. A child engaged in labor at a young age grows up to be physical and mentally less developed compared to his/her counterpart, however without work, a child may be severely malnourished and go hungry. Kaushik Basu (1999) provides with an model of Multiple Equilibrium where the child laborer and their family may be better off with a ban on child labor. Based on this model two assumptions can be drawn. First, a household with a sufficiently high

⁵ GLSS 6 results for the proportion of children engaged in child labour.

income would not send a child to work. Second assumption, child and adult labor are great substitutes. Due to the special productive abilities of young child laborers, there is a high demand for them. Meaning, the expansion of child labor supply simultaneously will increase the unemployment of adults because cheap labor force are preferable to firms, especially in the agriculture sector. When the parents find their income is low to support a family, they send off their child to work.

2.3 Parent's Educational Attainment effect on Child Labor

Chao and Alper (1998) emphasize that parental education are found to be key factors in determining the likelihood of children attending primary school. Parents who have received complete educational attainment realize the weight of education and its long-term affect. Canagarajah and Coulombe (1991), using data combined for boys and girls in rural and urban areas in Ghana, find that the father's secondary level education has a negative effect on child being engage in labor, while the mother's education has no effect. A counterargument is given by Bhalotra and Heady (2000) through the appliance of the same datas find that mother's middle or secondarily level education for rural boys, but no effect for the father's education. Bhalotra and Heady (2003) also find that the father's educational attainment has a negative effect on the probability that rural girls in Pakistan work, but has no effect for rural boys in either Ghana or Pakistan. Nonetheless, the father's education does have a positive effect on school attendance for rural boys and girls in both Ghana and Pakistan. Parents with educational attainment know the value of education, thus encourage their children to study as supposed to work.

2.4 Gender Disparity effect on Child Labor

Education indicators in Ghana reflect a gender gap disparities between the rural and urban areas and, as well as the Southern and Northern parts of the country.⁶ Boys are seen as better investment with return. In Ghana, the females (11.9%) whose families did not allow them schooling was higher than the males (GLSS 6). As Guarcello (2008) points out investing in education has a positive long term affect emphasizing human Capital is considered to be an important source of economic growth. There is a direct link between education and labor productivity. The increase in productive labor force sizes stimulates growth on national income. Parents believe that if they invest in sons the return in the long run will be high, as suppose to investing in girls who along the run way have a family and children.

2.5 Child Age

The theoretical model demonstrates that as a child becomes older they become more likely to engage in labour participation, and also are less likely to attend compusory schools. In Ray's (1998), study on Peru and Pakistan, finds a positive relationship between an increase in age and labour participation rate in both countries. The data drawn from both countries show that child labour increase in age, however with a substantial exclusion of Pakistan older girls, who are more likely be engaged in household work as a result of cultural factors. A similar finding was presented by Cartwright and Patrinos (1999) which is applicable to Bolivia, Cote d'Ivoire (Grootaert 1999), Bangladesh (Ravallion and Woon 1999), Brazil (Emerson and Souza 2008), Ghana and Pakistan (Bhalotra and Heady 2003).

2.6 Supply- Demand Factors Effect on Child Labor

⁶ Ministry of Education: Education in Ghana

2.6a. Supply Side.

Many factors intervene with child's educational attainment, school unavailability, cost burden, school having no value, and so on. GLSS 6 show that the main reasons for children not attending school was that schools were unavailable or the school was too far (19.2%).⁷ Research on child labour have focused exclusively on empirical work. Chao and Aples (1998) analyse the accessibility of primary education in Ghana for children between the ages of 10-14. The empirical literature provides with the supply-demand side factors that contribute to the reduction in enrolment and participation of Ghanaian children in school. The supply- side factors are identified as such, 1) distance to primary school, 2) pupil- teacher ratio at the primary level. The transport cost from rural areas to school located closer to the urban areas are burdensome to families, meaning child labour is more than twice as high in rural areas than in urban (Verner 2000). In the Volta and Eastern Regions, more than one quarter of the children (28.1% and 26.7%) were not in school because there was no school or the available schools were too far (GLSS 6). Psacharopoulos (1997), show that child labour and school attainment are substitutes using the data drawn from Latin America.

2.6b Demand- Side Factor.

According to the Children's Act of 1998 (Act 560)⁸ children below the age of 15 years are expected to receive proper education by being in school and released from any form of employment. However, with difference in household incomes, most families are underprivileged, and hence end up using their children as a consumption good. Household decision are the yet another main determinant of child labour which play a

⁷ GLSS 6 Table 4.4 "Percentage distribution of children 5- 17 years by reason why they never attended school by sex, locality, age group and region."

⁸ Act of the Parliament of the Republic of Ghana entitled The Children's Act, 1998. An Act, consisting of VI parts, develops laws on matters concerning children such as, regulating child labour, providing children's rights, and other matters.

crucial role in determining the child's fate. Rosenzweig and Evenson (1977) or Parsons and Golden (1989) through their empirical testing tried to explain decision of consumption and child labour. Too often parents, underestimate the value of education, hence prefer work rather than intellectual development. The short term consumptions overweighs the long term negatives effects that will be more burdensome resulting in the poverty cycle. The proportion of males (9.3%) whose families did not allow schooling was slightly lower than females (11.9%). Regardless of the fact that the children living in the rural areas are less likely to have access to school due to unavailability of schools, cost burden, or distance to school, the proportion of families who did not allow school in urban area (16.4%) was almost twice as higher than the rural area (9.4%).⁹

Involvement of children in the labour force at an early stage of their lives has many bad consequences: death, diseases, illness, underdevelopment. The child compared with his or her counterparts who are not engaged in the labour force, are not fully physically and mentally developed. A child might work and study, however their literacy rate remains low due to the lack of concentration on education.

⁹ GLSS 6 Table 4.4 "Percentage distribution of children 5- 17 years by reason why they never attended school by sex, locality, age group and region."

Chapter- 3:

Prevalence of Child Labor in Ghana

3.1 Introduction

Ghana, being the 82nd largest country in the world and 33rd largest country on the continent of Africa, with a population of 25,964,598 employs close to 2,000,000 children below the age of 15 as child laborers (IFMSA Report).¹⁰ Most children who are found to be living in the rural areas have the disadvantage of accessing schools and are engaged in economic activities. The Ghanaian government along with other organizations have been intervening with programs such as F-CUBE. First part gives an overview of the child labour prevalence in Ghana, followed by an explanation of the F-CUBE policy which has been ratified in 1992 in order for children to have access to schools for free of charge, simultaneously alleviate child labour, induce families to send their children to school, and lastly increase the literacy rate in Ghana.

3.2 Magnitude of Child Labor in Ghana

Children of all races and nationalities have equal rights to live a safe and enjoyable childhood. Child Labor is a controversial topic that is often neglected and its significance for economic, social, and political relations ignored (Grier 2004a).¹¹ The population of children in Ghana between the ages 5-17 years old is 8,697,602 (GLSS 6). Estimates of child labour in Ghana through the conduct of a GLSS 6 survey indicated there were 2,476,177 working children (28.5%). Children engaged in child labour

¹⁰ International Federation of Medical Students' Associations Overview on Ghana

¹¹ Important contribution from Africanist Scholarship include Bass (2004) Grier (2004a,2004b).

(21.8%) 1,892,553, and out of which (14.2%) 1,231,286 were engaged in hazardous child labour. Results drawn from the survey illustrate that 20.1% of the children attending school during the conduct of the survey were engaged in labour. More than one- tenth (12.4%) of the children were also engaged in hazardous forms of child labour. The cross sectional data proves that the proportion of children in rural areas who were attending school and engaged in child labour (28.8%) was higher compared to those in urban areas (11.25%).¹²

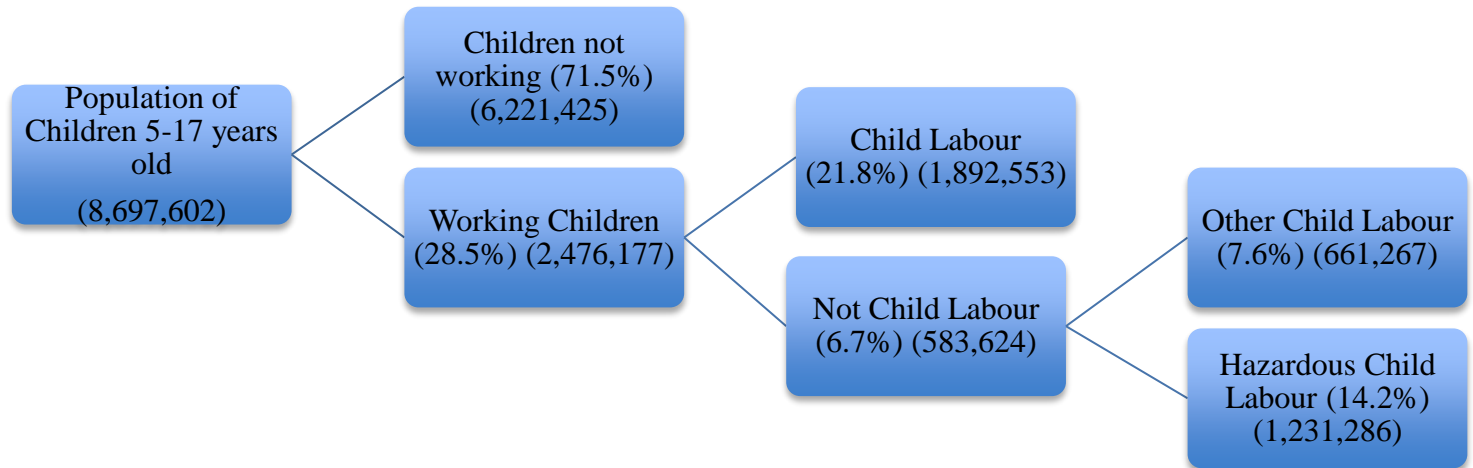
Children some cases drop out of school in order to work, while some combine schooling and work resulting in a poor educational performance. The total number of children between the ages 5-17, 55.1 per cent of them worked between 1-14 hours per week, 62.9 per cent combined work and schooling and was engaged in labour between 1- 14 hours. The remaining children, who either can not afford school or do not have access to school, or live in poor households are engaged in work only which is 20.3 per cent worked less than 14 hours. Both in the urban and rural area the rate of children who combine work and schooling is high, 64.9 per cent to 62.9 per cent.¹³

If we focus on different age groups we notice that as with an age increase the per cent of children working and combining work increases. For children between the ages of 5- 7 the total number of hours worked is 63.5 per cent which is high than other age groups, 8-11 62.7%, 12-14 56.8%, and 15-17 43.6% (ibid.).

¹² GLSS 6, Table 6.3 “Percentage distribution of children (5-17 years old) who were engaged in child labour by current school attendance, sex, locality, age group, and region.”

¹³ GLSS 6 Report Results from children engaged in work.

Figure 1.1 Main Findings from GLSS 6 on Child Labour



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3.3 Child Labor in Agriculture Sector

Ghana is known to have an agrarian economy, with agriculture accounting for about 50% of GDP with the major cash crop being cocoa. Mostly, Ghana along with Ivory Coast supply more than 70% of the world's cocoa (World Cocoa Foundation, 2012). The cocoa they grow and harvest is sold to a majority of chocolate companies, including the largest in the world. Children had been engaged in economic activities for decades on these plantations and had been ignored. The Agricultural sector is the most hazardous with the highest rate of labour engagement, including 70% of child labour worldwide. Children are a source of cheap labour which gives them an advantage to become economically active and replace the adult labour force: they either drop out of school or combine schooling with long hours of work with many falling victims to the risks and

¹⁴ A summary of the findings from the GLSS 6 on Child Labour

hazardous field work (ILO 2014). In Ghana, in the cocoa sector alone, 924,633 children are active, out of which 54%, estimated 538,287 children, are reported injuries from various dangerous activities from usage of dangerous tools and carry heavy loads. From the survey results drawn from the GLSS 6 we see that the agriculture sector and fishery employ more males (83.2 per cent) compared to females (69.8 percent). Majority of the children engaged in labour are in the rural area, (86.9 per cent), urban area employing 50.7 per cent. The greater portion of the workers are between the age range of 5-7 years (84.2 per cent). As we witness an increase in age, we notice a decline in the percentage of workers in these sectors. In the agriculture sector 50-75 per cent of the child are found to be weeding, 61-73 per cent fetching water for spraying, 84-89 per cent harvesting, and 84-89 per cent pod gathering. Nonetheless, the children who are active in the cocoa fields are exposed to chemical and physical hazards (GAWU 2014). The Upper West part of Ghana engages the highest portion of workers compared to any part of the country, between all seventeen regions used in the cross country data.

In Ghana, one in six children aged 6 to 14 are involved in child labour, 88 per cent of them work in agricultural farms, another 2.3 per cent fishing (ILO 2013). Lake Volta, is a famous man made lake in Ghana where children are exposed to WFCL. Even though the Ghanaian Government implemented the FCUBE policy in 1992, families in Ghana's agricultural communities are vulnerable to provide their children the fees for uniforms and books; which creates a barrier to receive proper education. Due to low- household income and large household head young children are vulnerable to be sold to work in Lake Volta as fisherman, paddling boats, hauling nets, or performing domestic labour in the homes of the fisherman. Child fishers are a great source of cheap labour and their tiny hands are well used in untangling tents and doing other sources of work that adult hands couldn't do well. Children have high chances of drowning in the water while

untangling the nets, or being abused, hit by paddle sticks, and as well as having to starve (ibid).

3.4 Work Related Health and Safety Risks

Children engaged in child labour suffer injuries, health problems such as illnesses and diseases, and as well as emotional traumas. Results indicate that 73.1 per cent of children who were involved in child labour suffered an injury while 53.2 per cent of them were engaged in hazardous activities. The proportion of suffered from injuries among females (73.4%) and males (72.9%) were about the same. These children are exposed to work with sharp tools, carry heavy loads of items, and work long hours. Moreover, these vulnerable child labourers are exposed to various forms of abuses at the workplace. Survey results show that about nine in every ten children (91%) who suffered any form of abuse were involved in child labour.¹⁵

3.5 Education Policy “F-CUBE”

The two factors that stimulate economic growth within a country are labour productivity and capital productivity. The main foundation that lies behind productive labour force is education. Countries that have managed to build a far- sighted education system have economically and politically become stable, due to the human resource development. Lack of education deprives children from becoming literate and employed in the future, therefore causing the poverty cycle (Todaro 2011). As Akarro (2011) puts a strong emphasis that children from low- income households are many times forced to work to contribute to the family income in the context of hardship and poverty.

¹⁵ GLSS 6, Table 6.5 “Percentage distribution of working children (5-17 years) in child labour by sex, locality, age group, region, and whether suffered any injury or health effects as a result of work.”

Education is one of the main instruments for reducing poverty and inequality, as well as simultaneously plays a crucial role in a child's survival and development. Education and child labour are interlinked. Parental education attainment has its long term implications for decision making for future generations. Therefore, it is important to education fully one generation which will help shape the mind sets directed towards education attainment.

Ghana, after gaining Independence in 1957, had witnessed a decline in the education sector, with high illiteracy rates due to low accessibility and availability of schools. As a result, the Ghanaian Government felt pressured and initiated to create policies in education to produce human resources and stimulate development. In 1992, the Constitution of Ghana ratified Article 38 which required Government to provide access to Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education to all. The Article 38 of the Constitution was the initial point to building a strong education system, which was four years later followed by the Free Compulsory Basic Universal Education Program with an objective to reintegrate children to school and abolish child labour. The government commitment towards achieving the educational goals is reflected in several policy frameworks and reports.

Ghana's 1992 provides «free, compulsory, and available education» to all. Especially equal education for girls is highly correlated with the reduction of child mortality, improved health, and longer life expectancy. F-CUBE's main objective consisted of abolishing school fees, which many families could not afford, and reintegrate children who had dropped out or who did not have the opportunity to attend school. Since 2005, the rate of school enrollment has showed a positive increase. However, the main obstacle is to improve the quality of education and sustainability.

The Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (F-CUBE) reform was implemented in September 1995 to increase school enrollment rate and provide mandatory education from 6 to 9 years and then in 2002 to 11 years.¹⁶ The reforms planned under the F-CUBE were designed to equip future generation of Ghanaians with the cognitive skills and fundamental knowledge in order to develop further their talents (MOE 1987, 1996, 1998). The main objective was to improve the access to the education system, simultaneously alleviate child labour. The four objectives are the following:

- Improve the quality of teaching and learning;
- Improve management for efficiency within the education sector;
- Improve access and participation;
- Decentralize the educational management system.¹⁷

More than 80 percent of Ghanaian children are enrolled and staying in school. The gross enrollment ratio has increased at all levels of basic education in.¹⁸ The gross enrollment rate at the primary level has increased from being 78.4 per cent in 2003-2004 to 94.9 per cent in 2009-2010, and the net enrollment rate increased from 55.6 per cent to 83.6 per cent (UNICEF 2014). In 2008, girls from the poorest household in the Northern Region are three times more likely to be out of school compared with the National Average (GDHS 2010). Household decisions also play an important role in the school enrollment. Investing in boys seems to have a greater return in the future than investing in girls. Therefore, girls' high rate of girls are out of school working in the household work.

¹⁶ World Bank, Africa Region, Education in Ghana: Improving Equity, Efficiency and Accountability of Education Service Delivery, September 2010

¹⁷ The four broad strategic objectives of "F-CUBE" reform, launched in September 1995

¹⁸ The gross enrolment rate or ratio (GER) represents the number of pupils enrolled in a given level of education, regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the population in the theoretical age group for the same level of education. The net enrolment rate (NER) is the number of pupils in the theoretical age group for a given level of education enrolled in that level, expressed as a percentage of the total population in that age group. (Source: UNICEF, ChildInfo: www.childinfo.org/education_methodology.html.)

Children from deprived households have a lower chance to be enrolled in school and have even a smaller probability of completing a given school cycle (Ministry of Education 2008-2009). At the primary level, completion rates for male pupils increased from 81.7 per cent in 2003–2004 to 89.3 per cent in 2008–2009, but went up only from 74.0 per cent to 83.2 per cent among female pupils over the same period.¹⁹

Education and literacy levels are important characteristics of the population that reflect on the human resource development. The quality of education Ghanaian children are receiving has been a major concern in the recent years. Many Ghanaian children complete primary education without attaining functional literacy. According to the Ministry of Education's National Education Assessment test of 2009, only a third of sixth grade students reach proficiency level in English and less than 14 per cent achieve proficiency in mathematics. Literacy rate is higher among pupils in urban area than in the rural areas. The adolescent of 10-14 in the urban areas show that less than 5 per cent are reported to be illiterate, while their counterparts living in the rural area show 12% per cent illiteracy rate.²⁰

3.6 MDG GOALS

The Ghanaian Education system has improved sufficiently, enrolling around 80% of the children to school. The net enrollment rate in primary education has evolved, however the school completion rate is low. The Ghanaian Government is most unlikely to meet the Millennium Development Goals that target achieving Universal Basic Education by 2015.²¹ The Completion rate for the primary level was 87.1 per cent in 2009- 2010, showing a relative increase of 8.4 per cent over 2003- 2004. Nonetheless, MDG2

²⁰ Ghana Statistical Service, 2010 Population and Housing Census

²¹ Ibid., pp. 19-24, and table, p.85

targeted 100 per cent of completion rate, which Ghana has failed to achieve.²² The completion rates among female pupils are rather low when compared to their male counterparts. At the primary level, the completion rates for male pupils was about 89.3 per cent in 2008- 2009, on the contrary female pupils was 83.2 per cent (MoE). The female are more vulnerable to have high drop outs influenced by household decisions.

Another main obstacle and determinant of high drop out rates is the quality of education provided to the Ghanaian children. The children must face challenges such as learning in overcrowded classrooms instructed by teachers with little or no pedagogical trainings, where in result children complete primary education without attaining the proper functional literacy (World Bank Report 2010). As Jensen and Nielsen (1997) elaborate that low quality of schooling may lead households to substitute work for schooling. Fewer than 60 per cent of primary- level teachers have had proper professional training. School drop out rates doubled between 2003 and 2008. In the year of 2003 alone, 2.3 per cent of children ages from 6- 14 were no longer in school after having attended at some point (MoE).The lack of qualified teachers and poor conditions in the classroom- discouraged students will to study (UNICEF 2014). Household decision preferred sending such children to become economically active. Children may also opt to work rather than attend rural schools, where teachers are often absent or inattentive, facilities are lacking, and the journey to and from class is arduous and time-consuming.²³ Income is a substitution for education.

²² Ibid., p.21

²³ Child Labour Survey, Accra 2003.

Chapter 4:

The Legal Framework: Combating Child Labour

4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with a description of policies and laws implemented for child protection. The menace of Child Labour seeks to reduce the development of a country, by creating the poverty cycle and producing illiterate human resources.

4.2 The Children's Act (1998)

The Ghanaian Government implemented the Children's Act (1998) with purpose to provide children with fundamental rights, regulate child labour and apprenticeship, as well as other children related matters. Part V of the Act concerns employment of children. Sub- Part I focuses mainly on child labour and consists of the following sections:

Figure 1.2 Children's Act (1998), Part V.

Section 87	Prohibits children being engaged in exploitative labour
Section 88-	Prohibits children being engaged in labour at night
Section 89	Elaborates on minimum age for admission of child to employment shall be fifteen or older
Section 90	Sets on minimum age for engagement of a child in light work shall be thirteen years.
Section 91	Sets minimum age for hazardous employment. The minimum age for the engagement of a person in hazardous work shall be eighteen or over.
Section 92	Sets minimum age for hazardous employment. The minimum age for

	the engagement of a person in hazardous work shall be eighteen or over.
Section 93	An employer in an industrial undertaking shall keep a register of the children; including dates of their births, and ages;
Section 94	Any person who violates the provisions of this Sub- Part commits an offence is liable to a fine or to imprisonment;
Section 95	Enforcement in the formal sector: A district labour office shall carry out any enquiry he may consider necessary in order to satisfy himself that the provisions of this Sub- Part with respect to labour by children in the formal sector are being strictly observed.
Section 96	Enforcement in the informal sector: The Social Services Sub-Committee of a District Assemble and the Department shall be responsible for the enforcement of the provisions of this Sub- Part in the informal sector.

4.3 The National Action Plan

The Ghanaian Government has made many efforts to combat and prevent children from being engaged in child labour. In this regard, a legal framework and a National Plan of Action, involving a development of various instruments and guidelines, was developed to alleviate child labor. The instruments and guidelines include the following:

- The Ghana Child Labour Monitoring System (GCLMS), fulfills the obligation of regularly checking work places to ensure that child labour is not used in production;

- The Hazardous Activity Framework for the Cocoa Sectors of Ghana (HAF), indicates the economic activities children should not be associated with;
- The Standard Operating Procedures and Guidelines (SOPs) deals with the worst forms of child labour.

4.4 Financial Fund

Implementing such very weighing program was no easy task for the government alone to fulfill, thus a number of donor agencies contributed substantial funds for primary education projects in the country. These include the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the United Nation's Children's International Education Fund (UNICEF), the Department for International Development of United Kingdom (DFID).

A major donor was USAID, which introduced a range of initiatives aimed at rebuilding the education system in Ghana. The Primary Education Programme was introduced in 1990 with an aim to provide essential inputs such as textbooks, in- service teacher training courses and national assessment systems as well as to assist the Ghanaian Government to increase the effectiveness of the primary education system. It targeted to reach its objective through the establishment of 330 «Model Schools,» with at least one «Model School,» in each district.

4.5 International Cocoa Initiative

Combating child labour in cocoa growing has taken an urge in the late 2000 and early 2001, when media evidently reported children being trafficked and employed in hazardous, poor, slave-like working conditions; Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea, and Nigeria in particular. Due to large use of child labour in hazardous working conditions United States and United Kingdom were faced with risks of boycott and sanctions. In

order to address this issue, representatives of the cocoa industry met with consumers, trade unions, and Non- governmental organizations to develop a strategy to eliminate the worst forms of child labour from the cocoa sector. ILO/ IPEC have both highly taken an advisory role in developing the protocol, a foundation under Swiss law called the International Cocoa Initiative: Working towards Responsible Labour Standards for Cocoa Growing (ICI).

After the creation of this protocol, child labour in hazardous work continued to exist: there were 6 regions producing cocoa in Ghana, and 64 cocoa growing districts. The Ghanaian Government once again intervened to eliminate WFCL in cocoa sector, along with ILO/IPEC/WACAP in the new strategy known as «The National Programme for the Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labour in Cocoa.» The objective of this new protocol was similar to the «International Cocoa Initiative,» however it was more expanded. Objectives included the following:

- Enhancement of the knowledge base on child labour in the cocoa sector;
- Promotion of universal basic education and human resource development among cocoa growing communities;
- Development and implementation of interventions that reduce the need for child labour in the cocoa sector;
- Development of institutional , technical, and organizational capacities at central, region, district, and community levels to effectively address child labour.

As a mission to eliminate WFCL and integrate children to school, funding organizations including UNICEF, Danish Embassy, WCF/GIG/NCA/and COCOBOD funded \$3,244,749 in 2009.²⁴ The fund went to developing roads to children would have access

²⁴ Akosua F. Osei-Opere, Charles B. Ntim, and Philip K. Amoo, *Hazardous Child Labour Activity Framework* (Ghana: 2012).

to public services; such as school, to provide scholarships to children of cocoa farmers, provide educational support which included uniforms, footwear, books, bags, and payment of apprenticeship fees.

Chapter- 5:

Research Result/ Findings

5.1 Introduction

Following question was answered in the written report:

- 1) How successful has the F-CUBE policy been in integrating children to school and alleviate child labor?*

The main objective of this study is to use data collected by Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 6 (GLSS 6) to provide evidence on the subject of child labor prevalence in Ghana. Unfortunately, in this case, primary sources of information could not be obtained due to geographical location of the researcher and child laborers themselves and their families. The secondary sources I have used and thoroughly analyzed are reliable reports from the UNICEF, Ghana Living Standard Survey Round 6, and Educational Strategic Plan in Ghana.

Using the GLSS 6, cross sectional data of 17 regions in Ghana, we can analyze to see whether the F-CUBE Policy was successful in achieving full enrolment rate of children and alleviate child labor by providing free, compulsory, accessible, and available schools for every Ghanaian child. The survey was designed to cover 18,000 households in 1,200 EAs, consisting of 655 (54.6%) and 545 Urban EAs (45.4%).

5.2 Accessibility and availability

The topic of child labor is a controversial topic, where the determinants vary by location. As Chao and Aples (1998) analyze the accessibility of primary education in Ghana for Ghanaian children, we see that they use supply- demand side factor as main

determinants of child labor in Ghana strongly emphasizing that the supply side factor, distance to primary school specifically, leads to the child participation in the labor market.

There are many reasons to explain why children in Ghana never attended school: 1) no school available or school too far; 2) families can not afford schooling. The transport cost from rural areas to school located closer to the urban areas are burdensome to families, meaning child labour is more than twice as high in rural areas than in urban.

Regardless of the fact the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education policy had been implemented in 1992, and the F-CUBE program launched in 1995, many regions, rural areas specifically, do not have schools available or accessible. Distance to primary school is a cost burden to parents who can not afford to send their children to schools located in other regions. Thus, children are used as a consumption good to contribute to the household income.

From the survey results drawn from GLSS 6, the disparity between the urban and rural areas are quite noticeable.

Figure. 1.3 Percentage Distribution of children 5-17 years by reasons why they never attend school ²⁵

Characteristic	No School/ School too Far
Urban	1.3

²⁵ Data drawn from GLSS 6: Table 4.4: Distribution of children 5-17 years by reason why they never attended school by sex, locality, age group, and region.

Accra	0.0
Other Urban	1.5
Rural	23.1
Rural Coastal	13.8
Rural Forest	25.1
Rural Savannah	23.3

If we are to compare the urban to rural area we see a big difference in the percentage distribution of children who never attended school. Only 1.3 per cent of children (5-17 years) have not receive education due to unavailability of schools, however in Accra school unavailability was not a reason to explain why children did not attend school. Moreover, in other urban areas only 1.5 per cent of children did not receive proper education due to this reason. Now, if we take a look at the rural area we see an huge increase in the percentage of children. 23.1 per cent of children, in the rural area alone did not have access school because it was located far away from their living area. Secondly, Rural Forest showed the larges portion of 25.1 per cent, followed by Rural Savannah (23.3 percent) and Rural Coastal (13.8 per cent).

5.3 Poverty as a cause for child labour

When comparing the urban to rural area one can notice the gap between the two areas, where in the urban area 2.2 per cent of the children never attended school, while in the rural are 9.2 per cent never attended school. The prevalence of children out of school is

mostly significant in Rural Savannah where extreme poverty present, followed by Rural Coastal, and Rural Forest.

Figure. 1.4 Percentage Distribution of children 5-17 years by reasons why they never attend school ²⁶

Characteristic	Cannot afford schooling
Urban	19.8
Accra	21.8
Other Urban	19.5
Rural	13.7
Rural Coastal	29.9
Rural Forest	6.4
Rural Savannah	14.3

If we take a look at Figure 1.4 we now see a higher portion of the children in the urban area who cannot afford schools (19.8 per cent). On the previous Figure 1.3, in Accra there were no sign of children who did not attend school due of unavailability, however in Figure 1.4 we notice a high per centage distribution of children who cannot afford schooling, when compared to other urban areas. 21.8 per cent of children could not access school because families could not afford. One of F-CUBE aims was to give “Free

²⁶ Data drawn from GLSS 6: Table 4.4: Distribution of children 5-17 years by reason why they never attended school by sex, locality, age group, and region.

Universal Basic Education,” however, most families still cannot afford to send their children to school, meaning the policy is not very effective in some terms. The program was suppose to free families from all sorts of tuitions fees so they could send their children to school and not engage them in any type of labour. The next highest percentage distribution of children not attending school or the same reason was detected in Rural Coastal (29.9 per cent), followed by Rural Savannah (14.3 per cent). The families living in the rural areas are engaged in labour in the agriculture field, meaning their household income when compared to is much lower, therefore they can not afford schooling. There are many reasons to explain why children do not attend school, however the outcome in most cases is the same, they wind up becoming child labourers engaged in labour.

Children engaged in economic activity was the highest in the rural area (1,780,314) making 39 per cent of the total population of children between the ages of 5-17 in the rural area. In addition, 1,379,332 children were found to be engaged in child labour (GLSS 6). Also, children performing hazardous work wsa found to be the highest in the rural area (911,104) when compared to the urban area (320,179) (ibid.) These children are found to be working to contribute to the household income, it is out of their will.

5.4 Cultural and Social Factors

The attendance status between males and females are different, showing a representation of gender disparity or cultural influence affecting female participation in school. The males who never attended school is 5.7 per cent, while the females is 6.1 per cent. Employment of children in homes, girls especially, is very much common in Ghana. In many socities families do not consider investing in the girl’s future in terms of receiving proper education. Girls are seen as inferior to boys, therefore while boys go to school

and perform tasks outside, girls must bear the responsibility to fulfill chores at home, usually alongside with their mothers. From the survey results, 13.1 per cent of females did not attend school because they helped out at home with chores, while the males was 3.2 per cent, creating a big gap. Even though the Ghanaian Government has made basic education (ages of four and fifteen) compulsory families violate the rule and deprive their children from receiving proper education due to the cultural/traditional ideologies. Moreover, females (11.9 per cent) were not allowed to attend schools, while (9.3 per cent) of males were not allowed. The traditional and cultural ideologies of these communities still live up to the modern day.

Chapter- 6

Conclusion and Recommendations

6.1 Introduction

In conclusion, this thesis has made an attempt to contextualize the magnitude of child labour in Ghana by examining various determinants; such as supply and demand side factors, that link primary education to child labour. In the process of writing there was no use of primary source do to the researcher being in a different location, however, realiable secondary sources were used; UNICEF Report, GLSS 6, and ESP from the MoE.

6.2 Recommendations

Based on my observation and study, I would like to make the following recommendations that might provide succor for policy makers in further implementation or revision of education related/ child labour alleviation policies:

6.2.1 Awareness on Child Labour

It is first and foremost important to alert the Ghanaian society that using children as a household asset to bring profit to the household income unexceptable, especially if young children are engaged in hazardous activities such as working in the field, mining, fishing, or etc. Unfortunately, child labour is widely accepted in the society, where household heads decide whether the child will work or study. Children are used as a consumption good, which might help in the short term, however become more burdensome in the long run.

NGO's or CSO's should hold workshops, rural areas in particular, to alert the families

who live in the rural areas, to teach about the consequences of engaging children to work at an early age, as well as the discuss child's rights. In a society where children are accepted as household assets, household decisions prevail, child's wants and rights having no strength. It is important families understand the mental, physical, and emotional damage children receive from early employment.

6.2.2 Vocational training/ workshops for families

Tackling child labour directly is a daunting task, there are many other aspects that should be dealt simultaneously. Most parents believe education is useless, therefore they wind up sending their children to work instead of school. The proportion of males (9.3%) whose families did not allow schooling was slightly lower than females (11.9%) (GLSS 6). Therefore, it is important to start educating/ training the household heads and change their perspective towards education. If parents receive proper training to understand the value of education.

6.2.3 Strengthening Monitoring Mechanism/ Incentives

The Ghanaian Government implemented the F-CUBE policy in 1992 to provide children access to free, compulsory universal basic education, however did not manage to enforce. Therefore, it is important for the government to make children attend school and provide incentives for parents to send their children to school. For example: in Brazil in order to alleviate child labour and integrate children to school, NGO's and local government created the Bolsa Escuela program, where children are given classes and provided with utensils, and parents are paid compensation for the money their child used to contribute to the household income. If, the Ghanaian government provides such incentives there is no doubt families will start to send their children to school, because their portion would be compensated. Only this way can the enrollment rate increase.

6.2.4 Expand school facilities

From my study, I have noted that the main reason why children living in the rural areas do not attend school was because it was not available/ accessible. Therefore, building schools is important for the families living in the rural area, it would help increase the enrollment rate and reduce child labour because it would cut off travel cost burden. The children both in the urban and rural area should have equal access to public services such as school.

6.2.5 Incentives for Teachers

Building school facilities is one thing, however to main the effectiveness of the goals behind building schools should be supported by well educated teachers. However, do to the low salaries and marginal utility to teach in the rural areas, teachers do not feel the responsibility to provide children with good quality education. Therefore, many children dropout from school in order to work and help their families (UNICEF 2013). The Ghanaian government should provide teachers with incentives and motivate them to better educate these young naïve children, and help them build a better future. They should provide the teachers with housing with good living conditions so they would feel comfort and get full energy to teach children.

Conclusion

In the contemporary world child labour is widespread. With poverty being one of the main reasons to cause this phenomenon, it is a daunting task to fulfill and alleviate. Families with very low household incomes are dependent on their child, regardless of age, to contribute to the income. Thus, children are at many times forced to engage in hazardous labour to bring in a very small portion of salary which helps put food on the

table. Even with many policies and laws implemented against child labor, using children as a consumption good, household asset, is accepted in the society. Children should have full right to practice their rights and enjoy their childhood.

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Appendix

Figure 1.1 Children's Act (1998), Part V.

Section 87	Prohibits children being engaged in exploitative labour
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	children in the formal sector are being strictly observed.
Section 96	Enforcement in the informal sector: The Social Services Sub-Committee of a District Assemble and the Department shall be responsible for the enforcement of the provisions of this Sub- Part in the informal sector.

Figure 1.2a: Main Findings from GLSS 6 on Child Labour

